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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the meaning and functions of the directional suffixes (adverbial expressions of direction) in Kusaiean and Ponapean. It is shown that the directional suffixes have two semantic features of direction and terminus. Depending on the different contexts in which they are used, sometimes only one semantic feature is employed and other times a combination of both features is used. Part 1 is devoted to the study of the Kusaiean suffixes and Part 2 to Ponapean. A number of detailed examples are given, and a list of references is included. (Author/PMP)

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VERBAL ASPECT IN KUSAIEAN AND PONAPEAN[1]
(Meanings and Functions of Directional Suffixes)

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0. Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to examine the meanings and the functions of the directional suffixes in Kusaiean and Ponapean.[2] It will be shown that the directional suffixes have two semantic features of direction and terminus. Depending upon different contexts in which they are used, sometimes just one semantic feature is employed and other times a combination of the two semantic features ar e employed. In Part I, the Kusaiean directional suffixes will be examined and in Part II, the Ponapean directional suffixes will be examined.

In representing Kusaiean words and sentences, the present Kusaiean orthography will be used. The following is a list of spelling symbols and their phonetic values.

Spelling Symbols	Phonetic Values	Example Words	Glosses
i	[i]	til [ti:l]	'to pick'
ih	[ɨ]	tihl [tɨ:l]	'to sink'
u	[u]	tul [tu:l]	'drop'
e	[e]	en [e:n]	'name of'
o	[o]	on [o:n]	'song'
ac	[ɛ]	acn [ɛ:n]	'land'
uh	[ʌ]	kuh [kʌ:]	'strong'
oh	[ɔ]	ohk [ɔ:k]	'mist'
ah	[æ]	ahk [æ:k]	'pole'
a	[a]	ma [ma:]	'thing'
oa	[ᵒa]	loa [lᵒa:]	'reed'

Vowel length is not marked in the present Kusaiean orthography.

p	[p]	paht [pæ:t]	'late'
t	[t]	tahtah [tæ:tæ:]	'saw'
k	[k]	kahl [kæ:l]	'to touch'
f	[f]	fahk [fæ:k]	'to say'
s	[s]	sahk [sæ:k]	'tree'
sr	[ṣ]	srah [ṣæ:]	'blood'
m	[m]	mah [mæ:]	'grass'
ng	[ŋ]	nge [ŋe:]	'this'
l	[l]	lah [læ:]	'branch'
r	[ɾ]	erah [eræ:]	'a plant'

Velarized consonants are marked with w as in

kw	[k']	kwekwe [k'e:k'e:]	'hard'
lw	[l']	lwen [l'e:n]	'day'

Rounded consonants are marked with o before front vowels, but in other environments, they are not marked.

ngo	[ŋ"]	ngoe	[ŋ"e]	'turtle'
ko	[k"]	koet	[k"et]	'octopus'

The forms of the eight directional suffixes in Kusaiean are presented below:[3]

lah	'away'
acng	'to (a certain point)'
yah	'down'
ack	'up'
ma	'to the speaker'
oht	'hence'
elihk	'to different directions'
eni	'to one direction'

I.1. Semantics of Directional Suffixes

Each of the directional suffixes has dual semantic features of direction and terminus. When a verb is used with one of the directional suffixes (henceforth, DR), the suffixed form denotes that as a result of a certain action, something has changed its location. The directional meanings of the DR's can be concrete physical changes of location as well as figurative changes of state. The figurative changes of state seem to be extended from the concrete physical changes of location. The term directional meaning will refer to the concrete change of location and the term aspectual meaning will refer to the figurative changes of state.

With motion verbs, the directional meaning is dominant. With non-motion verbs, the aspectual meaning is dominant. However, there are many cases in which it is difficult to distinguish whether the directional or the aspectual meaning is used. In addition, the DR's can have slightly different meanings according to the types of sentences in which they are used. In I.1.A., we will observe the dual semantic features of the DR's in declarative sentences. In I.1.B., we will observe the directional suffixes in imperative sentences.

I.1.A. Directional Suffixes in Declarative Sentences

It is convenient to classify Kusaiean verbs as either motion verbs or non-motion verbs for the discussion of semantic features of the directional suffixes. Verbs such as pahtok 'to push', wuhn 'to carry', lihs 'to chase', pwen 'to lead', or kihpahkihn 'to throw' imply physical changes of location and will be called motion verbs.

Generally, motion verbs can be freely used with any one of the eight DR's. Their meanings are predominantly directional. Look at the following sentence. The motion verb pahtok 'to push' is used with the eight DR's.

Kuhn el pahtok-lah sahk ah.
Kuhn he push -acng lumber the
-yah
-ack
-ma
-oht
-elihk
-eni

'Kuhn pushed the lumber away, to a certain position, down, up, to me, away from me, to different positions, to one position'.

Verbs that are not related to any physical change of location will be called non-motion verbs. Verbs such as puhla 'to feel', etuh 'to know', or nuhnkuh 'to think' are non-motion verbs. Non-motion verbs can be used with directional suffixes but they are not as free as motion verbs in taking the directional suffixes. The verb nuhnkuh 'to think', for example, can be used with the DR's ack and lah only in declarative sentences, as we can see in the following sentences.

Kuhn el nuhnkuh-ack mwet sac.
Kuhn he think - up man the
'Kuhn thought of the man.'

Kuhn el nuhnkuh-lah top sac.
Kuhn he think -away answer the
'Kuhn figured out the answer.'

When the DR's are used with non-motion verbs, their meanings are predominantly aspectual. The DR ack in nuhnkuh-ack does not denote any concrete physical motion-through-location. But it denotes that mwet sac 'the man' is in someone's consciousness. The DR lah in nuhnkuh-lah denotes that top sac 'the answer' is discovered.

As another example, compare the DR yah in the following two sentences. In the first sentence below, yah is used with a motion verb lihs 'to chase' and it denotes that as a result of chasing, the cow is at a lower location than before. In the second sentence below, the yah is used with a non-motion verb sruok 'to catch' and denotes a metaphorical extension of 'down'.

El lihs-yah kaho soko ah.
he chase-down cow one the
'He chased down the cow.'

El sruok-yah pik soko ah.
he catch-down pig one the
'He caught the pig.'

That is, the suffixed form sruok-yah can be paraphrased in the following way: as a result of catching sruok 'to catch', something is in the state of yah. The DR yah in one of its metaphorical extensions denotes that something is in a state of inactivity, captivity, submission or constraint.

In the preceding paragraphs, we saw that verbs in Kusaiean can be classified into motion verbs and non-motion verbs. However, the classification cannot be absolute. The verb puok 'to hit' can be classified either as a motion verb or non-motion verb. The classification in this case is determined by the nature of the object with which the verb is used. Look at the following two sentences. In the first sentence below, the object of the transitive verb puok 'to hit' is something that can be hit away by an ordinary man. On the other hand, the object of the verb puok in the second sentence below is something that cannot be hit away by an ordinary man in an ordinary situation.

Sah el puok-lah pohl sac.
Sah he hit-away ball the
'Sah hit the ball away.'

Sah el puok-lah tuhlihk sac.
Sah he hit-away child the
'Sah beat up the child.'

In the first sentence above, the DR lah denotes that as a result of hitting, the ball is away from its original position. In this regard, puok can be regarded as a motion verb. In the second sentence above, the DR lah can have the same meaning as that of the DR in the first sentence if the hitter Sah is a giant. But in an ordinary situation, puok-lah means 'to beat up'. In this regard, the verb puok can be regarded as a non-motion verb.

To take another example, the object of the transitive verb lihkahsihki 'to shoot with a gun' can be either something that can be ejected from the gun such as bullet or something that is hit or shot by the bullet. Look at the following two sentences.

Sohn el lihkahsihke-lah yot ah.
John he shot-away stones the
'John shot away the stones (from a gun).'

Sohn el lihkahsihke-lah won ah.
John he shot-away birds the
'John shot down all of the birds.'

In the first sentence above, the verb lihkahsihki 'to gun' or 'to shoot' can be regarded as a motion verb whereas in the second sentence, the same verb can be regarded as a non-motion verb.

To summarize the present section, verbs can be classified into motion verbs and non-motion verbs. The DR's with motion verbs, they have a predominant directional meaning. But with non-motion verbs, they have a predominant aspectual meaning. However, the classification of the verbs depends upon the nature and the type of the object and some verbs can be classified in both ways.

In what follows, the directional and aspectual meanings of the DR's will be presented. Example sentences will be presented which show either directional or aspectual meaning clearly for each DR. (Readers are referred to I. 5., where detailed meanings of each DR are presented).

LAH

In its directional meaning, the DR lah indicates that something is away from its original place. In its aspectual sense, the DR lah indicates that something is removed or detached from another object. The sense of removal or detachment seems to be extended from that of dislocation. Look at the following two sentences.

Eltahl ol-lah oak soko ah.
they pull-away canoe one the
'They pulled away the canoe.'

Eltahl kuhnes-lah muh ah.
they pick-away oranges the
'They picked off the oranges.'

In the first sentence above, the DR lah is used with a motion verb ol- 'to pull' and it indicates that the canoe is away from its original position. In the second sentence above, the DR lah is used with a non-motion verb kuhnes- and it denotes that as a result of picking, the oranges are off the trees.

ACK

The basic directional meaning of the DR ack is 'up', indicating that as a result of a certain action, something is at a higher place than it was before. The extended aspectual meaning denotes that as a result of a certain action, something is in a agitated state, in operation or in activity. Look at the following sentences.

Nga wan-ack etong ah nuh lucng ah.
I carry-up wood the to mountain the
'I carried the firewood up to the mountain.'

Nga ahkos-ack insin soko ah.
I start-up motor-boat one the
'I started up the motor-boat.'

In the first sentence above, the DR ack is used with a motion verb wan- 'to carry' and it indicates that the firewood is at a higher place that it was before. The DR ack in the second sentence above denotes that as a result of starting, the motor-boat is in operation.

YAH

The DR yah in its directional sense means that something is at a lower place or position. Its extended aspectual sense means that something is in a state of confinement, submission, constraint or inanimateness. In the first sentence below, the DR yah is used with a motion verb kihpahkihn 'to throw' and in the second sentence, the same DR is used with a non-motion verb.

Kuhn el kihpahkihn-yah sahk soko.
Kuhn he throw-down stick one
'Kuhn threw down a stick.'

Kuhn el kapri-yah kaho soko ah.
Kuhn he tie -down cow one the
'Kuhn tied down the cow.'

The suffixed form kapri-yah denotes that the cow is in a state of captivity as a result of tying.

ACNG

In its directional meaning, the DR acng contrasts with the DR lah. The DR lah denotes that something is away from its original position whereas the DR acng denotes that something is at a new position. In its extended meaning, the DR acng denotes that something is in a position of covering. Look at the following two sentences.

Sepe el epuhs-acng tuhram soko nuh ke sinkah sac.
Sepe she roll-to drum one to wall the
'Sepe rolled the drum to the wall.'

Sepe el nokom-acng wes na sasuh se.
Sepe she wear-to shirt new a
'Sepe had a new shirt on.'

In the first sentece above, the DR acng is used with a motion verb ipihs 'to roll' and has a primary directional meaning. In the second sentence above, the DR acng is used with a non-motion verb and denotes that the new shirt is in the position of covering.

ENI

The basic directional meaning of the DR eni is 'at one place or point.' The derived aspectual meaning of the DR denotes shrinkage or decrease in size, volume or length, etc... In the first sentence below, the DR eni is used with a motion verb and denotes a direction whereas in the second sentence below, the same DR is used with a non-motion verb and denotes decrease in length.

Sohn el kihpahkuhn-eni kaki ah.
John he throw-together coconuts the
'John threw the coconuts to one place.'

Syuhl soko ah arlac fototo-eni.
string one the very short-
'The string has become very short.'

ELIHK

In its directional meaning, the DR elihk denotes that things are at different places or locations. In its extended aspectual meaning, the DR denotes increase in size, length, or volume. The following two sentences will illustrate the two different meanings of the DR eni.

Tuhlihk sac lihpahkihn-elihk pohl ah.
child the threw- balls the
'The child threw the balls in different directions.'

Muhtwahn sac arlac fact-elihk.
woman the very fat-
'The woman has become very fat.'

MA and OHT

The two speaker-oriented DR's ma and oht are not associated with a particular aspectual meaning. In their directional meanings, the DR ma means 'to the speaker' and the DR oht means 'hence'. Observe the following example sentences.

Mwet luti sac pwen-ma tuhlih ah.
teacher the lead- children the
'The teacher led the children to me.'

Mwet luti sac pwen-oht tuhlihk ah.
'The teacher led the children away from me.'

To summarize, basically the DR's have two semantic features of direction and terminus. The feature of direction can be either physical change of location or figurative change of state. It was shown that except for the two DR's ma and oht, all the other suffixes can be used both in directional meanings and aspectual meanings. In the following section (I.1.B.), we will observe meanings of the directional suffixes in imperative sentences.

I.1.B. Directional Suffixes in Imperative Sentences

In I.1.A., it was pointed out that non-motion verbs cannot be used with the directional suffixes as freely as motion verbs. But the restriction holds only in declarative sentences. In imperative sentences the restriction does not hold.[4] To take a non-motion verb etuh 'to know' as an example, in declarative sentences the verb can be used with the two DR's ack and lah as in the following examples.

Nga etuh-ack top sac.
I know-up answer the
'I began to know the answer.'

Nga etuh-lah top sac.
I know-away answer the
'I have figured out the answer.'

But suffixes such as ma or oht are seldom used with the verb etuh in declarative sentences.

However, in imperative sentences, the DR's ma and oht can be freely used with non-motion verbs. Look at the following examples.

Etuh-ma pweng sac.
know- news the
'Learn about the news and bring it to me.'

What the imperative sentence above means is that the addressee must first know (learn) the news and then bring it to the speaker. The DR ma in the sentence has both the semantic feature of direction and that of terminus. The direction feature in this case has a verb-like meaning. Observe the following additional examples in which the directional suffixes have verb-like meanings.

Tahkuhs-ma sie kaki ah.
husk- one coconuts the
'Husk one of the coconuts and bring it to me.'

Kolos-oht sie muh ah.
peel - one oranges the
'Peel one of the oranges and take it with you.'

Kolos-acng nu se nuh sel ahwowo ah.
'Peel a banana and take it to the baby.'

As we have observed above, the DR's have verb-like meanings when they are used with non-motion verbs in imperative sentences:

DR's	Glosses
lah	'... and then take (something) away'
acng	'... and then take (something) to'
ack	'... and then take (something) up'
yah	'... and then take (something) down'
ma	'... and then bring (something) to me'
oht	'... and then take (something) away from the speaker'
eni	'... and then put (something) together'
elihk	'... and then put (something) apart'

On the other hand, when the directional suffixes are used with motion verbs in imperative sentences, they can denote only direction. (Note that in declarative sentences, the DR's denote not only direction but terminus). Compare the uses of the DR yah in the following sentences.

Sah el toan-yah lah sac.
Sah he press-down branch the
'Sah pressed down the branch.'

Sah, toan-yah lah sac. Mwet kom toan-ack.
don't you press-up
'Sah, press the branch downward. Don't press it upward.'

The first sentence above is a declarative sentence and the DR yah denotes that the branch is down as a result of pressing. The DR yah in the second sentence above which is an imperative sentence denotes only direction. When a speaker uses the sentence above, what he is interested in is not the result of the action but the direction of the action.

The other DR's also denote only direction when they are used with motion verbs in imperative sentences as they are presented here:

DR's	Glosses
lah	'outward'
acng	'toward'
ack	'upward'
yah	'downward'
ma	'in the direction of the speaker'
oht	'hence'
eni	'in one direction'
elihk	'in different directions'

To summarize I.1., the DR's have semantic features of direction and terminus. In declarative sentences both features are present. In imperative sentences, only the feature of direction can be present. The direction feature can denote either physical changes of location, figurative changes of state or a verb-like meaning:

Directional Suffixes

1. Direction Feature
   - A. Directional Meaning
   - B. Aspectual Meaning
   - C. Verb-like Meaning
2. Terminus Feature

In the section to follow, simple forms will be compared with their suffixed forms in terms of meaning and cooccurrence restrictions.

I.2. Differences Between Simple and Suffixed Forms

I.2.A. In Meaning

A suffixed form of a verb denotes completion of a certain action and its resulting state. On the other hand, a simple unsuffixed form denotes that an action or a state is still in progress. For example, note the simple form taun 'to start a fire' in contrast with its corresponding suffixed form taun-ack:

Sohn el taun insin soko ah.
John he start motor-boat one the
'John is starting the motor-boat.'

Sohn el taun-ack insin soko ah.
start-up
'John started up the motor-boat.'

Whereas in the first sentence John is still trying to start the motor-boat, in the second sentence the motor boat is in a state of activity or operation.

Note the difference in meaning in the following pairs of sentences.

Sepe el ahkos lahm ah.
Sepe she light lamps the
'Sepe is lighting the lamps.'

Sah el ahkos-ack lahm ah.
Sah he light-up lamps the
'Sah lit up the lamps.'

Kuhn el pahtuhri siifah uh.
Kuhn he fish siifah
'Kuhn is fishing for siifah.'

Kuhn el pahtuhre-ack siifah uh.
fish for-up
'Kuhn caught the siifah.'

The simple forms denote that certain actions are still in progress and their logical conclusion has not been reached. We can characterize the aspect of the action by the term 'attempt'.

To take another example, in the declarative sentences, the verb kulus 'to peel' can have the following three suffixed forms: kolos-lah, kolos-ack and kulus-yah. In the following sentences, the simple form and the suffixed forms are contrasted.

Sepe el kulus muh sac.
Sepe she peel orange the
'Sepe is peeling the orange.'

Sepe el kolos-lah muh sac.
'Sepe peeled the orange.'

Sepe el kolos-ack muh sac.
'Sepe started peeling the orange (but has not finished it).'

Sepe el kulus-yah muh sac.
'Sepe peeled off the skin of the orange and put it down.'

The simple form kulus 'to peel' denotes that the peeling is still in progress. The suffixed form kolos-lah denotes that the peeling has come to an end and the skin of the orange is in the state of removal or separation. The suffix ack in kolos-ack denotes that the action of peeling has come to an end, but the peeling has not been finished. The DR yah in kulus-yah denotes that as a result of peeling, the skin of the orange is put down.

When we compare the two verb ahkos 'to light' and kulus 'to peel', we can notice the following difference: the simple unsuffixed form ahkos denotes 'attempt' whereas the simple form of kulus denotes 'gradual achievement' of the result.

Finally, in some cases both simple and suffixed forms can denote state as with the verb nuhnkuh 'to think' and its suffixed form nuhnkuh-ack:

Nga nuhnkuh tuhlihk se nuhtik ah.
I think of child a my the
'I think of my child.'

Nga nuhnkuh-ack tuhlihk se nuhtik ah.
think of
'I thought of my child.'

However, the implication is different. The suffixed form denotes that the speaker was not aware of the child at one point but that now the child is in his consciousness. With the simple form, there is no such implication.

To take another example, the word fok means 'to bear fruit', or 'not barren'. The suffixed form fok-lah also means 'to bear fruit'. But the suffixed form fok-lah implies that a tree which formerly did not bear any fruit has begun to bear, whereas the simple form fok does not carry any such implication.

Mos suhnwahl Sohn ah fok.
breadfruit his John the bear
'The breadfruit of John's bears fruit.'

Mos suhnwahl Sohn ah fok-lah.
bear-away
'The breadfruit of John's has begun to bear.'

To summarize I.2.A., the simple forms of the verbs denote that some action or state is still in progress. But depending upon the character of the verbs, the simple forms can denote attempt, gradual achievement or state. On the other hand, the suffixed forms denote completed actions and their resultant states.

I.2.B. In Cooccurrence Restrictions

In this section, we will see that the basic semantic differences between the simple and suffixed forms are reflected in different parts of Kusaiean grammar; specifically, that the simple forms have different cooccurrence restrictions from the suffixed ones.

1. SRWAHK 'still'

The adverb srwahk 'still' can be used with simple forms but it cannot be used with suffixed ones. It implies that a certain action which was going on previously is still going on. The fact that it can be used with simple forms but not with suffixed ones seems to be quite natural in view of what has already been said about the contrast in meaning between the simple and suffixed ones.

In the first sentence below, srwahk is used grammatically with a simple form of a verb. But the second sentence is ungrammatical when the adverb is used with a suffixed form.

Sah el srwahk na tahtahi sahk soko ah.
Sah he still saw tree one the
'Sah is still sawing the tree.'

*Sah el srwahk na tahtahe-lah sahk soko ah.
saw-away

Observe the following additional examples. The words in parentheses are suffixed forms and they cannot be used with the adverb.

Kuhn el srwahk na tahkuhs (*tahkuhs-lah) kaki ah.
Kuhn he still husk husk-away coconut the
'Kuhn is still husking the coconuts.'

Sah el srwahk na inihm (*enuhm-lah) oak soko ah.
Sah he still bail bail-away canoe one the
'Sah is still bailing out the canoe.'

2. MUHTA 'to stay', 'to keep ...ing', 'to remain'

The verb muhta has a basic meaning of 'to stay' or 'to remain', as it is used in the following sentences.

Eltahl muhta ke acn Awai.
they stay at land Hawaii
'They are staying in Hawaii.'

Sepe el muhta Ponpe.
Sepe she stay Ponape
'Sepe is staying in Ponape.'

However, the verb muhta has another extended meaning of 'to continue... ing', 'to keep on ...ing', or 'to remain in a certain state'. In the following sentences, the verb muhta is used in this extended sense.

Ninah el muhta manman ik.
Mother she keep on cook fish
'Mother keeps on cooking fish.'

Eltah muhta pwahr.
they remain happy
'They remain happy.'

However, the verb that follows muhta must be a simple form, because 'to continue ...ing', or 'to keep on...ing' implies that a certain action is still in progress. To use muhta with a suffixed form is ungrammatical since it would involve a contradiction. In the following examples, the words in parentheses are suffixed forms that cannot cooccur with muhta

Srue el muhta na luhngas (*luhngaslah) pwahpuhl ah.
Srue she keep on translate bible the
'Srue kept on translating the bible.'

Sepe el muhta na poheli (*pohele-ack) mos ah.
Sepe she keep boil -up breadfruit the
'Sepe kept on boiling the breadfruit.'

3. NWE 'and at the same time' NA 'and then'

The conjunction nwe joins one action or state that was going for some time with another action or state that follows before the first action comes to an end. This accounts for the fact that the suffixed form, which denotes completion, cannot cooccur in the first part of a compound sentence joined by the conjunction nwe. In the following compound sentence, the verb is a simple unsuffixed form sroali 'to paint'. When suffixed forms such as sroale-lah or sroale-ack are used, the sentence becomes ungrammatical.

Sah el sroali (*sroale-lah, -ack) fahsuc tin sac nwe puhtatlah.
Sah he paint -away-up roof tin the and fall
'Sah was painting the tin roof and he fell off.'

Some additional examples are presented below.

Tuhlwen el esyesi (*esyes-lah) tuh soko nwe eyah pahol.
Tuhlwen he peel -away sugar-cane one and cut hand
'Tuhlwen was peeling a sugar-cane and he cut his hand.'

Tuhlwen el riti puk sac nwe sruhilah.
Tuhlwen he read book the and dizzy
'Tuhlwen was reading the book and became dizzy.'

In contrast, when two sentences are joined by the conjunction na, the verb in the first sentence must be a suffixed form; the conjunction na joins a finished action with another related action that later takes place. Before sending a letter, for example, we have to finish writing it. In the following sentence, the verb is a suffixed form suhmuhs-lah; its unsuffixed counterpart would be ungrammatical.

Nga suhmuhs-lah (*sihmihs) lwahta se na suhpwah-lah.
I write-away write letter a and send-away
'I wrote a letter and sent it away.'

Similarly,

Sohn el twem-lah (*twem) mitmit sac na pahke-lah tuh ah.
John he sharpen-away knife the and cut -away sugar cane
'John sharpened the knife and cut the sugar-cane.'

Ninah el otwe-lah (*otwe) fohtoh sac na us pahtuhr.
Mother she weave-away basket the and take fishing
'Mother finished weaving the basket and took it for fishing.'

3. TIHLAH 'not any longer' 'no longer'

The negative word tihlah 'no longer' can be used with a simple form of a verb but not with a suffixed form. Since it means that a certain action that was going on stopped short of reaching its intended goal, this explains why it cannot be used with suffixed forms of verbs. In the sentences below, the verbs are simple forms, and their suffixed counterparts in parentheses would be ungrammatical.

Ninah el tihlah oul (*ol-lah) nuknuk ah.
Mother she no longer wash clothes the
'Mother is not washing the clothes any longer.'

Eltahl tihlah nihm (*nuhm-lah) piru uh.
they no longer drink beer the
'They do not drink beer any more.'

4. PUHTAHKAH 'how long has one been ... ing?'

The question word puhtahkah 'how long has one been ... ing?' also denotes that an action or process has not come to an end and thus it cannot be used with a suffixed form of a verb:

Sepe el sihmihs (*suhmuhs-lah) lwahta se puhtahkah ?
Sepe she write write-away letter a how long
'How long has Sepe been writing one letter?'

Kuhn el pihkihn (*puhkan-ack) luhf sac puhtahkah ?
Kuhn he dig dig-up ditch the how long
'How long has Kuhn been digging the ditch?'

I. 3. Different Types of Results

In this section we will observe different types of results that are denoted by the DR's.

I. 3. A. Separation, Removal vs. Attachment, Fixation

As a result of a certain action, something can be separated or removed from another object. In describing the separated or removed state, the DR lah is used. Verbs whose meanings are related to cutting, chopping, breaking or tearing are commonly used with the DR lah.

sipihk	'to split'	kihnis	'to pick'
paki	'to chop'	pihkihl	'to dust off'
tafle	'to carve'	uti	'to cut'
sre	'to shred'	kulus	'to peel'
kawi	'to scratch'	une	'to scale'
koem	'to husk'	mokle	'to shake'

On the other hand, as a result of a certain action, something can be attached to another object or fixed to another object. The DR yah is used to describe such a result. The verbs listed below are commonly used with the DR yah.

fihli	'to put'	fulus	'to paste'
itul	'to string'	ikwi	'to plant'
kafihs	'to hold'	kului	'to glue down'
fahros	'to embrace'	kaski	'to set up'

Nouns which refer to things which denote parts can be changed into transitive verbs with the addition of the suffix i. These transitive verbs are also used with the DR yah to denote that some part is attached to another object. The noun fung 'handle', for example, can be changed into a transitive verb fung-i 'to put a handle on'. Compare the following:

Sohn el fung-i mitmit sac.
John he knife the
'John is putting a handle on the knife'.

Sohn el fung-i-yah mitmit sac.
-down
'John put a handle on the knife.'

The DR yah in the second sentence above denotes that a handle is attached to the knife.

Some additional derived words are:

puhtin-i	'to put a button on'
pakiht-i	'to put a pocket on'
kafa-i	'to put a cover on'
winto-i	'to put a window in'

I. 3. B. Subjection, Inactivity vs. Activity, Operation

As a result of a certain action, something can be confined, restrained, or killed. The DR yah describes the state of confinement, restraint or subjection. Verbs whose meanings are related to tying, killing, catching, or preventing are used with the DR yah to denote the resultant state.

kapri	'to arrest'	aeni	'to handcuff'
laki	'to lock'	kali	'to confine'
los	'to tie'	pini	'to pin down'
seini	'to chain'	awi	'to tie (thatch to the roof)'
lihkahsihki	'to gun'	tuhngal	'to shoot'
osrai	'to spear'	uni	'to kill'
mahsrihki	'to stoke'	sruok	'to catch'
pwahsin	'to poison'	pihsrihk	'to shoot with a sling shot'

On the other hand, as a result of a certain action, something can be in activity or in operation. The DR ack is used to denote such results. The verbs listed below are commonly used with the DR ack.

taun	'to start'	ahkos	'to light'
pahli	'to fan'	urok	'to turn on'
muhtwahwah	'to begin'	sramtwah	'to start ... ing'

I. 3. C. Consciousness, Appearance vs. Unconsciousness, Disappearance

The DR ack is used to denote that something has come into one's consciousness or into one's view. In this sense, the DR ack is used with the following verbs.

nuhnkuh	'to think'	puhla	'to feel'
esam	'to recall'	etuh	'to know'
lohng	'to hear'	liye	'to see'
akihlen	'to notice'	ngok	'to smell'
sik	'to appear'	yor	'to show up'
ut	'to enter'		
ekas	'to reveal'	fahk	'to speak up'
tohrkahskahs	'to gossip'		

On the other hand, the DR lah is used to denote that something is out of one's consciousness or has disappeared from one's view. The DR lah is commonly used with verbs such as the following.

muhlkihn	'to forget'	nihkihn	'not to know'
muhlal	'to faint'	tuhlah	'to get lost'
sar	'to disappear'	ef	'to fade'

Another extended meaning of the DR lah indicates that something is extinguished or depleted, when the DR is used with verbs such as following.

kuni	'to put out'	suwisi	'to switch off'
kang	'to consume'	nihm	'to drink'
muhlwesri	'to dissolve'	sopkihn	'to use up soap'

I. 3. D. Completion vs. Partial Accomplishment

The DR lah with certain verbs denotes that something is completely depleted, exhausted or accomplished. The verb kang means 'to eat' or 'to consume'. The suffixed form kang-lah means 'to have eaten up'.

On the other hand, the DR ack can denote partial accomplishment, when it is used with verbs whose action is cumulative such as kulus 'to peel', or resei 'to shave'. Compare the following sets of words.

kulus	'to peel'
kolos-lah	'to peel off'
kolos-ack	'to have started peeling but has not finished it'
kang	'to eat'
kang-lah	'to have eaten up'
kang-ack	'to have consumed partially'
riti	'to read'
rete-lah	'to have finished reading'
rete-ack	'to have started reading but has not been finished'

I. 3. E. A Whole Surface vs. A Spot

The DR lah denotes that a whole surface is affected when it is used with verbs whose objects have something to do with surface such as the ones listed below.

fihkari	'to spread pebbles on...'
puhki	'to spread sand on...'
koltahi	'to apply coaltar over...'
simahni	'to overlay with cement'
muhsroali	'to apply oil over...'
sohki	'to spread chalk over...'
fahnuhsi	'to apply varnish over...'

On the other hand, when the DR yah is used with the verbs listed above, the DR can have two different meanings. In one meaning, the DR denotes that somebody dropped a drop of paint, coaltoar or chalk. In another meaning, the DR denotes that a spot or a crack is applied with paint, coaltar or chalk. If somebody is painting the outside of a canoe, the DR lah will be used. If a canoe has a crack, and somebody fills in the crack with coaltar, the DR yah will be used.

I. 3. F. Increase vs. Decrease

The DR eni denotes that something has decreased in length, size, or volume. Look at the following pairs of words.

srihk	'small'	srihk-eni	'to have become small'
fototo	'short'	fototo-eni	'to have become short'
molok	'to shrink'	molok-eni	'to have shrunken up'

On the other hand, the DR elihk denotes that something has increased in size, length, volume or intensity. Look at the following pairs of words.

yohk	'big'	yohk-elihk	'to have become big'
fact	'fat'	fact-elihk	'to have become fat'
loes	'long'	loes-elihk	'to have become long'

To summarize I. 3., some representative types of resultant states have been presented. The directional suffixes contrast not only in the directional meanings but also in the aspectual meanings. The types of resultant states presented in the present section are not exhaustive. Readers are referred to I. 5., where detailed directional and aspectual meanings are presented for each directional suffix.

I. 4. Derivational Function of Directional Suffixes

The three directional suffixes lah, ack and acng have a derivational function of changing nouns into predicate words. The noun aes 'ice', for example, can be changed into a predicate word aes-lah 'to have become ice'. The noun wes 'shirt', for another example, can be changed into a predicate word wes-yang 'to have a shirt on'. The noun mahk 'ant' can be changed into a predicate word mahk-ack 'to be infested with ants'.

The three suffixes lah, ack and acng in their derivational functions still seem to retain their aspectual meanings. The DR lah denotes a complete changeof state in one of its aspectual meanings [Cf. I. 5. E.]. Any noun which refers to things which can be completely changed into another state can be used with the DR lah. The derived words generally mean 'to have become...' Look at the following examples.

Kof sac aes-lah in aespohk ah.
water the in ice-box the
'The water has become ice in the ice-box.'

Sepe el nuhrs-lah.
Sepe she nurse-
'Sepe has become a nurse.'

Kuhn el inut-lah.
Kuhn he ghost
'Kuhn has become a ghost.'

In another aspectual meaning, the DR lah denotes that a whole surface is affected [Cf. I.5. A.9.]. The underlined predicate words in the following sentences seem to retain that aspectual meaning.

Ik soko ah ulah-lah.
fish one the maggot-
'The fish is covered with maggots.'

Inum ah mahk-lah.
kitchen the ant-
'The kitchen is covered with ants.'

The DR ack in its aspectual meanings denotes activity, inchoation and appearance. [Cf. I.5. C.10.] These aspectual meanings seems to be present in the derived predicate word mahk-ack 'to be infested with ants'. When some area is infested with insects or bugs, we can notice the appearance of the insects or ants. In other words, the DR ack in mahk-ack denotes the beginning of infestation and the appearance of the insects or bugs. Look at the following examples.

Inum ah watwen-ack.
kitchen the cockroach-
'The kitchen began to be infested with cockroaches.'

Lohm sac loang-ack.
house the fly-
'The house began to be infested with flies.'

The DR acng in one of its aspectual meanings denotes that something is in the position of covering as a result of certain action. The suffixed form nokom-acng denotes that as a result of nukum 'to cover' or 'to wear', something is in the position of covering. Any nouns that human beings can wear either for decoration or protection can be changed into predicate words with the addition of the DR acng. The noun fahluhk 'shoes' becomes a predicate word fahluhk-acng 'to have shoes on'. Look at the following additional examples.

Sohn el kuhlahs-acng.
John he glasses-
'John has a pair of glasses on.'

Kuhn el was-acng.
Kuhn he watch -
'Kuhn has a watch on.'

I.5. Uses of Directional Suffixes: A Summary

In this section, different meanings of each DR will be presented. The directional meanings will be presented first and will be followed by the aspectual meanings.[5]

I.5.A. LAH

[1] Away from a place or location: [Cf. I.5.B.1.]

Sohn el sinuhkuhn-lah pohk se liki inum ah.
John he pushed-away box a from kitchen the
'John pushed away a box from the kitchen.'

[2] Away from the beach: [Cf. I.5.C.2.]

Noa luhlahp se puok-lah oak okoahl Sah ah.
wave big a wash-away canoe his Sah the
'A big wave washed away Sah's canoe (from the beach).'

[3] From a vertical position to a horizontal position:

Kuhn el puhtat-lah.
Kuhn he fall
'Kuhn fell over.'

[4] Back to one's point of departure:

Lonno el fohlohk-lah nuh Kosrae.
Lonno he return to Kusaie
'Lonno went back to Kusaie.'

[5] To the other side of a line or an obstacle.

Sohn el tuhpal-lah pot ah.
John he jump wall the
'John jumped over the wall.'

[6] Ahead of something:

Nga tolohl-lah Sohn.
I overtake John
'I overtook John.'

[7] Separation, removal or detachment, when used with verbs denoting cutting, breaking, splitting or any verb which is semantically related to those [Cf. 1.5.D.8.].

Sepe el ngales-lah ikoen ik ah.
Sepe she bite-away meat-of fish the
'Sepe bit off the meat of the fish.'

Kuhn el koem-lah kaki ah.
Kuhn he husk-away coconuts the
'Kuhn husked the coconuts.'

[8] Complete exhaustion or consumption, when used with verbs such as kang 'to eat' or nihm 'drink' whose objects denote things that can be consumed [Cf. I.5.C.13.].

Eltahl kang-lah mos ah.
they eat-away breadfruit the
'They ate up the breadfruit.'

[9] That a whole surface of a certain object is affected, when used with verbs which have something to do with a surface [I.5.D.9.].

Ninah el fihkare-lah inum ah.
mother she spread sand kitchen the
'Mother spread the kitchen floor with sand.'

[10] A state of extinction or discontinuity.

Nga kune-lah e sac.
I put-away fire the
'I put out the fire.'

Eltahl fonos-lah infahl ah.
they block- river the
'They blocked the river.'

[11] That something is out of one's consciousness or out of one's view.

Nga muhlkuhn-lah inen tuhlihk sac.
I forget- name-of child the
'I forget the child's name.'

Sah el wuhkan-lah pohl sac.
Sah he hide- ball the
'Sah hid away the ball.'

[12] A change of hands when used with verbs such as moli 'to buy' or kuhkakihn 'to sell.'

Nga mole-lah pik ah sin mwet sac.
I buy- pig the from man the
'I bought the pigs from the man.'

Sepe el kuhkakuhn-lah was se nuh sihk.
Sepe she sell- watch a to me
'Sepe sold a watch to me.'

[13] Totalization. The verb kapri 'to arrest' is used with the suffix yah when something or someone is arrested. However, lah can also be used when more than one object is involved [Cf. I.5.D.7.].

Pihlismahn el kapri-yah mwet pihsrapasr se.
policeman he arrest- man steal a
'The policeman arrested a thief.'

Pihlismahn el kapre-lah mwet pihsrapasr ah.
the
'The policeman arrested (all of) the thieves.'

I.5.B. ACNG

[1] That something is at a new location [Cf. I.5.A.1.].

Sohn el sinuhkuhn-acng pohk sac nuh inum ah.
John he push box the to kitchen the
'John pushed the box to the kitchen.'

[2] That something is in contact or in a closed position [Cf. I.5.A.7.].

El urok-acng fohnoht sac.
he turn- cork in
'He turned the cork in.'

[3] That something is in a position of covering [Cf. I.5.A.7.].

Sohn el nokom-acng wes se luhk ah.
John he wear- shirt a my the
'John is wearing my shirt.'

[4] A benefactor, one who receives or suffers something.

Nga mole-acng wes se lal Sepe.
I buy shirt a for-her Sepe
'I bought a shirt for Sepe.'

Ninah mahtuh el liye-acng tuhlihk sac.
mother old she watch- child the
'Grandmother is looking after the child.'

[5] Acng is used in a command when urging somebody to keep on working until a certain time or until a result comes out.

Kuhruh-acng kof sacn nuh ke ao luo.
stir- water that until hour two
'Keep on stirring the water until two o'clock.'

I.5.C. ACK

[1] To a higher location from a lower location or position.

Kom fin etuh top nuh kac, sruhk-ack poum.
you if know answer to it raise-up hand-your
'If you know an answer to it, raise your hand.'

[2] To a vertical position from a horizontal position.

Nga tulohkuhn-ack sru soko.
I set- pillar one
'I set up the pillar.'

[3] To the beach or ashore.

Eng luhlahp se puok-ack sahk na loes soko.
wind big a push- stick long a
'A strong wind pushed a long stick ashore.'

[4] Suspended aloft:

Ninah el sruhpuhsr-ack nuknuk ah.
mother she hung - clothes the
'Mother hung the clothes up.'

[5] To the line of vision from below the horizon; in the air above the ground; out of the ground; out of the surface of water.

Faht ah tak-ack.
sun the rise-
'The sun rose.'

Won sac sohk-ack.
bird the fly-
'The bird flew up.'

El fahkuhs-ack pahko soko.
he spear- shark one
'He speared a shark and (brought it out of the water).'

[6] In a pile or in a heap.

Pahpah el elos-ack kaki ah.
father he pile- coconuts the
'Father piled up the coconuts.'

[7] In the direction which leads away from the mouth of a river and toward its source.

Sohn el kal-ack nuh lucng.
John he sail- to mountain
'John sailed up to the mountainside.'

[8] Facing upwards.

Ahwowo el ekuhl-ack kaht ah noh fohn.
baby he turn- card the all
'The baby turned the cards up.'

[9] At a higher rate, speed, degree or amount.

El kuhl-ack molin ma sacn.
he move- price-of thing that
'He boosted the price of that thing.'

[10] In a state of activity or operation [Cf. I.5.D.7.].

Sohn el ahkos-ack lahm ah.
John he light- lamp the
'John lit up the lamp.'

[11] In one's consciousness; to the notice of someone.

Sepe el fahk-ack ma lukmah se nuh seltahl.
Sepe she say- thing secret a to them
'Sepe disclosed the secret to them.'

[12] In a state of agitation.

El kuhruh-ack is ah.
he mix yeast the
'He mixed up the yeast.'

[13] That cooking is finished and the food is ready to be served, when used with verbs of cooking.

El pohele-ack mos ah.
he boil breadfruit the
'He boiled the breadfruit (and it is ready to be eaten).'

[14] A partial accomplishment. A certain action has started but it has not reached its logical conclusion.

Eltahl oruh-ack lohm sac.
they make- house the
'They started to build the house (but it has not been finished).'

I.5.D. YAH

[1] At a lower position or place from a higher position or a place.

El ipihs-yah tuhram soko ah.
he roll- drum one the
'He rolled down the drum.'

[2] Below the horizon or at the bottom of the water.

Oak soko ah tihl-i.
ship one the sink
'The ship sank down.'

[3] At a lower point on a river.

Sahk soko ah paht-i nuh ten.
stick one the drift- to down
'The stick drifted down.'

[4] The upper face facing downward.

El ohnki-yah ahluh sac.
he put bowl the
'He put the bowl upside down.'

[5] In the stomach.

Tuhlihk sac ukum-yah mongo ah.
child the swallow- food the
'The child swallowed down the food.'

El kang-yah ik soko ah.
he eat- fish one the
'He ate the fish (andit is in his stomach).'

[6] At a lower rate, speed, amount or volume.

El srihki-yah molin suhtohr yohrohl ah.
he cut price-of store his the
'He cut down the prices (of things) in his store.'

[7] In a state of complete stoppage, inactivity, submission, or inanimateness.

Pahpah el uni-yah pik soko ah nuh ke macruht sac.
father he kill- pig one the for marriage the
'Father killed a pig for the marriage.'

El tulohkihn-yah sitosah soko ah.
he stop- car one the
'He stopped the car.'

[8] That a spot or a speck of an area is affected [Cf. I.5.A.9.].

Nga sroali-yah wes se.
I paint- shirt a
'I dropped a drop of paint on a shirt.'

I.5.E. ELIHK

[1] At different places.

Nga kihpahkihn-elihk yot ah.
I throw- stones the
'I threw the stones in different directions.'

[2] Apart, asunder, or in pieces or part, when used with non-motion verbs.

Sepe el fokol-elihk ahluh se.
Sepe she break- bowl a
'Sepe broke a bowl into pieces.'

[3] Increase in size, length, volume or quantity, when used with adjectives.

Muhtwahn sac arlac fact-elihk.
woman the very fat-
'The woman has become very fat.'

I.5.F. ENI

[1] To one point or location from different directions.

Nga lihpahkihn-eni yot ah.
I throw- stone the
'I threw the stones to one place.'

[2] That some objects are in contact, in union or together.

Pwepuh ah fulful-eni.
paper the paste-
'The pieces of paper are pasted together.'

[3] Decrease in size, volume or length.

Ma sac srihk-eni.
thing the small
'The thing has become small.'

Wik sac arlac fototo-eni.
wick the very short-
'The wick has become very short.'

[4] That some state or condition has become very intense in degree.

Sohn el arlac alken-eni.
John he very diligent-
'John has become very diligent.'

I.5.G. Aspects of Adjectives

In the preceding sections I.5.A-F., various meanings of the directional suffixes have been examined. The examination, however, was confined mostly to verbs. In this section we will examine the meanings of some directional suffixes which are commonly used with adjectives.

Most adjectives denote a state or a condition of a certain object. Aspectually, a state can be regarded as being in a state, going into a state or being in a new state. The three suffixes ack, i (yah) and lah are used to express such aspectual differences. In what follows, the uses of the three DR's ack, i, and lah will be examined.

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ACK

The DR ack denotes a beginning stage of a change of state when it is used with adjectives.

Fahluhk luhk ah mah-ack.
shoes my the old-
'My shoes are getting old.'

Kof ah fol-ack.
water the hot-
'The water is becoming hot.'

Lohm uh okahrkahr-ack.
house the messy-
'The house is getting messy.'

LAH

The DR lah denotes a complete change of a state. It often implies an excessiveness of a change.

Fahluhk luhk ah mah-lah.
shoes my the old-
'My shoes have become (too) old (to wear).'

Wes se inge fototo-lah nuh sihk.
shirt a this short- for me
'This shirt has become (too) short for me.'

I

The meaning of the DR i with adjectives is not clearly understood by the writer. The suffix i seems to denote a change of state between the initial state expressed by the DR ack and the final stage of change expressed by the DR lah. Compare the following sets of examples:

Fin meoa ah { mihs. / mihs-ack. / mihs-i. / mihs-lah } 'The ocean { is calm.' / is becoming calm.' / became calm' / has become too calm.' }
surface-of ocean the calm-

El { tuhngahk. / tuhngahk-ack. / tuhngahk-i. / tuhngahk-lah. } 'He { is showy.' / is becoming showy.' / became showy.' / has become too showy.' }
he showy-

II. Ponapean Directional Suffixes[6]

The Ponapean directional suffixes also have two basic semantic features of direction and terminus. The feature of direction denotes not only physical changes of location but also figurative changes of state. The purpose of Part II is to present the aspectual meanings and the derivational functions of the Ponapean DR's for the purpose of comparing them with those of the Kusaiean DR's.

The following is a list of the Ponapean DR's:

la	'away'	ong	'to'
da	'up'	di	'down'
do	'to the speaker'	wei	'hence'
		sang	'from' 'off'
pene	'together'	peseng	'apart'

II.1. Aspectual Meanings of Ponapean DR's

II.1.A. LA 'away'

When the DR la is used with the following verbs and others whose meanings are related to them, it denotes that something is out of sight or out of one's consciousness.

likidmelie	'to forget'	eki	'to hide'
depwa	'to drown'	manoke	'to forget'
seese	'not to know'	luskih	'to lose'
sar	'to fade'		

Compare the following two sentences. In the first sentence an unsuffixed form eki is used and in the second setence its suffixed counterpart eki-la is used.

I eki pwoal o.
I hide ball the 'I am hiding the ball.'

I eki-la pwoal o.
I hide- ball the 'I hid away the ball.'

When the DR la is used with verbs such as kang 'to eat' or nim 'to drink', it denotes that something is completely exhausted or depleted. Compare the following pair of sentences:

E kang mwahmw kau.
he eat fish those 'He is eating those fish.'

E kang-la mwahmw kau.
he eat- fish those 'He ate up those fish.'

When the DR la is used with verbs such as pwili 'to paste' or daipih 'to type' which normally take the DR di, it denotes that plural numbers of things are finished. In other words, the DR la denotes totalization. Compare the following pair of sentences.

I daipih-di leta o.
I type-down letter the 'I typed the letter.'

I daipih-la leta kau.
I type- letter those 'I typed all of the letters.'

When the DR la is used with adjectives, it denotes complete change of state. Observe the following:

rek	'abundant'	rek-la	'to become abundant'
pwerisek	'diligent'	pwerisek-la	'to become diligent'
rot	'dark'	rot-la	'to become dark'
mwehl	'angry'	mwehl-la	'to become angry'

II.1.B. ONG 'to'

When the DR ong is used with non-motion verbs, it denotes that something is done for somebody. Look at the following example.

I rese-ong rah o Salis.
I cut- branch the Salis
'I cut the branch for Salis.

II.1.C. SANG 'from' 'off'

When the DR sang is used with verbs listed below, which denote cutting, chopping, breaking, splitting, etc..., it denotes that something is removed, detached or separated.

rakih	'to scratch'	rihs	'to break (off)'
ripe	'to remove'	sapwad	'to untie'
sepe	'to cut'	sere	'to peel (off)'
siped	'to shake'	tehr	'to tear (off)'
us	'to pull'	waik	'to snatch (off)'
widen	'to wash'	rese	'to chop'

Compare the following two sentences:

E rihs rah o.
he break branch the 'He is breaking the branch.'

E rihs-la rah o.
he break- branch the 'He broke off the branch.'

II. 1. D. DA 'up'

When the DR da is used with verbs of perception such as the following, it denotes that something has come into one's consciousness,

kilang	'to see'	rong	'to hear'
taman	'to remember'	lamalam	'to think'
pehn	'to realize'	kehn	'to feel'

Compare the following sentences and notice the difference in meaning.

I taman ede.
I remember name-his 'I remember his name.'

I taman-da ede.
I remember- ' I came to recall his name.'

When the DR da is used with the following set of verbs or others whose meanings are related to them, it denotes that something is in a state of operation, activity or that something has come into existence.

idihng	'to start a fire'	isik	'to burn'
		ok	'to burn'
lus	'to be surprised'	loh	'to startle up'
		kamaura	'to turn on'

Compare the following two sentences.

E kamaura sitosa o.
he start car the 'He is starting a car.'

E kamaura-da sitosa o.
he start- car the 'He started up the car.'

When the DR da is used with the following set of verbs, it denotes that something is removed or loosened.

kodoma	'to husk'	lapwad	'to untie'
kaup	'to peel'	kawina	'to scale'
loahke	'to unlock'	kederwina	'to pluck'
rere	'to debark'		

Compare the following pair of sentences.

E kawina mwahmw o.
he scale fish the 'He is scaling the fish.'

E kawina-da mwahmw o.
he scale- fish the 'He scaled the fish.'

When the DR da is used with verbs whose meanings are related to cooking, it denotes that something is cooked and ready to be eaten. But the significance of the DR da in this case is not very clear to the writer.

inihn	'to cook'	kukih	'to cook'
pwoaile	'to boil'	ainpwoahti	'to cook in an iron pot'
umin	'to cook in an earth oven'		
praing	'to fry'		

When the DR da is used with verbs whose meanings are related to buying or adopting, it denotes that something has come into one's possession.

natih	'to buy'	pwek	'to adopt'
pwinik	'to choose'	ale	'to acquire'

Observe the following sentence.

I pwek-da seri o.
I adopt child the 'I adopted the child'

When the DR da is used with verbs whose meanings are related to clothing or putting on, it denotes that something is in the position of covering. Compare the following two sentences.

E sorii sori Sapanis o.
he slipper Japanese the
'He wears Japanese slippers.' (habit)

E sorii-da sori Sapanis o.
-up
'He put on Japanese slippers.'

Nouns that refer to things that one can wear can be changed into transitive verbs with the addition of the suffix i. The noun sori 'slipper' can be changed into a transitive verb sori-i 'to put on slippers'. Transitive verbs derived in this way usually take the DR da to denote that something is in the position of covering.

When the DR da is used with verbs which one ususally performs intentionally or consciously, it denotes that one did something accidentally. The verb nim means 'to drink' and its suffixed form kang-da means 'to drink something accidentally'. Observe the following pair of sentences.

Aramas o nim piru o.
man the drink beer the 'The man drinks the beer.'

Aramas o nim-da kerisin o.
drink- kerosene the
'The man drank the kerosene accidentally.'

When the DR da is used with adjectives, it denotes inchoation. That is, something is beginning to be changed into another state. The word lemei means 'cruel'. The suffixed form lemei-da means 'to become cruel'. Look at the following additional examples.

lingaling	'clear'	lingaling-da	'to become clear'
lipilipil	'choosy'	lipilipil-da	'to become choosy'
loalekeng	'diligent'	loalekeng-da	'to become diligent'

II.1.E. DI 'down'

When the DR di is used with verbs whose meanings are related to catching or killing, it denotes that something is in a state of captivity, subjection or confinement. The following verbs are commonly used with the DR di.

kesikih	'to gun down'	lidipih	'to trap'
doakoa	'to spear'	kaloweh	'to catch'
daper	'to catch'	pwakih	'to chase'
salih	'to imprison'	roahe	'to grab'
sair	'to get hold of'		

Compare the following pair of sentences.

I doakoa pako o.
I spear shark the 'I am spearing the shark.'

I doakoa-di pako o.
spear-down 'I speared the shark.'

When the DR di is used with verbs of tying or locking or any verb whose meaning is similar to them, it denotes that something is attached, fastened or fixed. The following verbs are commonly used with the DR di.

ilewe	'to tie'	pwili	'to paste'
loahke	'to lock'	pasur	'to nail'
kapri	'to tie'	padok	'to plant'
deipina	'to patch'	pile	'to secure'
pwuke	'to tie in a knot'	riting	'to close'

Compare the following pair of sentences.

I ilewe war o.
I tie canoe the 'I am tying the canoe.'

I ilewe-di war o.
I tie- canoe the 'I tied the canoe.'

When the DR di is used with the following verbs, it denotes that a certain action is exerted on an object.

palih	'to peck at'	kinih	'to pinch'
leteng	'to flick'	kokoma	'to strike with a horn'
tiak	'to step on'	woakih	'to hit'

When the verb kinih is used with the DR sang, it means 'to pick off'. However, when it is used with the DR di, it means 'to pinch'.

II.1.F. PENE

The DR pene denotes that something is in contact, connection, or union, when it is used with verbs such as those listed below.

riting	'to close'	rukoa	'to chew'
salih	'to tie'	suk	'to pound'
pouse	'to connect'	pwuke	'to tie'
pasur	'to hammer'	lim	'to fold'
ingid	'to braid		

When the DR pene is used with adjectives, it denotes mutual or reciprocal relationship. The adjective kadek means 'kind'. When it is used with the DR pene, it means 'to be kind to each other or one another'. Additonal examples are presented below.

kaselel	'dear'	kaselel-pene	'to be dear to each other'
luwak	'jealous'	luwak-pene	'to be jealous of each other'
mengei	'friendly'	mengei-pene	'to be friendly to e.o.'
peik	'obedient'	peik-pene	'to be obedient to e.o.'
mwomwitik	'shy'	mwomwitik	'to be shy to e.o.'

Notice that the adjectives listed above describe states that one can control to a large extent. With the following adjectives, the DR pene denotes totality. The adjectives laud means 'old' or 'grown-up'. The suffixed form laud-pene means '(all are) old or grown up'. Some additional examples follow.

madekeng	'dry'	madekeng-pene	'(all are) dry'
liseian	'pregnant'	liseian-pene	'(all are) pregnant'
mah	'ripe'	mah-pene	'(all are) ripe'
marara	'fast'	marara-pene	'(all are) fast'
nei	'neat'	nei-pene	'(all are) neat'

When the DR pene is used with adjectives descriptive of size, volume or quantity, it denotes decrease.

tik	'small'	tik-pene	'to have become small'
titi	'skinny'	titi-pene	'to have become skinny'
menipinip	'thin'	menipinip-pene	'to have become thin'
tetik	'narrow'	tetik-pene	'to have become narrow'

II.1.G. PESENG 'apart'

When the DR peseng is used with verbs listed below, it denotes that something is in pieces, apart or asunder.

sepe	'to cut'	sepe-peseng	'to cut into pieces'
suk	'to pound'	suk-peseng	'to pound into pieces'
tehr	'to tear'	tehr-peseng	'to tear apart'
lapwad	'to untie'	lapwad-peseng	'to untie apart'

When the DR peseng is used with adjectives descriptive of size, volume or quantity, it denotes increase.

kalaimwun	'large'	kalaimwun-peseng	'to have become large'
lap	'big'	lap-peseng	'to have become big'
reirei	'long'	reirei-peseng	'to have become long'
moasul	'thick'	moasul-peseng	'to have become thick'
tehlap	'wide'	tehlap-peseng	'to have become wide'

II.2. Derivational Functions of Ponapean Dr's

The two DR's da and la have derivational functions of changing nouns into predicate words. The DR da can be used with any noun that one can wear for decoration or protection. The word kilas 'glasses', for example, can be changed into a predicate word kilas-da, 'to wear glasses'. Observe the following additional examples.

tepukuro	'gloves'	tepukuro-da	'to wear gloves'
sarmada	'underwear pants'	sarmada-da	'to wear underwear pants'
rausis	'trousers'	rausis-da	'to wear trousers'
masuku	'mask'	masuku-da	'to wear masks'

The DR la can be used with any noun that can be changed into another state, status or condition. The word ais 'ice' can be changed into a predicate word ais-la which means 'to have become ice'. Look at the following additional examples.

sengsei	'teacher'	sengsei-la	'to have become a teacher'
tohnsukul	'student'	tohnsukul-la	'to have become a student'

II.3. Comparison of Kusaien and Ponapean DR's

In the chart to follow, the aspectual meanings of the Kusaiean and Ponapean DR's are compared. In the first column, different types of results are listed. In the remaining columns the Kusaiean and Ponapean DR's are listed. If a certain DR is used to denote a certain type of result, an X mark is used. The following abbreviations are used:

out of con : out of one's consciousness
in one's con : in one's consciousness
ch of hands : change of hands
part. accom : partial accomplishment
acci. happ : accidental happening

From the chart on the next page we can notice that the results of separation, change of hands, covering are expressed by different suffixes in the two languages. The aspectual meaning of accidental happening is expressed by the Ponapean DR da but its Kusaiean counterpart ack does not have that aspectual meaning. Besides these differences, the DR's in the two languages denote the same types of results.[7]

III. Historical Implication

In the preceding two parts, we observed that that the Kusaiean and Ponapean DR's have two semantic features of direction and terminus. The feature of direction has three slightly different meanings: directional meanings, aspectual meanings and verb-like meanings. Historically, the present DR's might have been verbs. In Grace's Finder List, we can find the following reconstructed forms:

*mai	'to come'
*lako	'to go or walk'
*nsake	'upwards'; 'to climb, to lift, to rise or to jut out'
*nsipo	'downwards'

At an earlier stage, the forms listed above might have been used as verbs only, but later they might have begun to be used as directional suffixes with a concommitant change in meaning. When we observe some Micronesian and Polynesian languages with such an assumption, we can notice at least three different stages of development.

In languages such as Tongan, the DR's are used not only as verbs but also as directional suffixes:

Tongan Directionals

mai	'to or towards me'; 'to give (to me)'
atu	'to or towards you'; 'to give (to you)'
hake	'up or upwards'; 'to ascend or to go up'
hifo	'down or downwards'; 'to descend or to go down'

In languages such as Samoan, some DR's can be used both as verbs and as directional suffixes, but others only as directional suffixes.

Data / Aspectual Meanings	away		to		off	up		down		apart		together	
	.lah	la	acng	ong	sang	.ack	.da	yah	di	elihk	peseng	eni	pene
separation	X				X								
depletion	X	X											
extinction	X	X											
out of con	X	X											
in one's con						X	X						
ch of hands	X						X						
covering			X				X						
activity						X	X						
benefactor			X	X									
cooked						X	X						
part. accom						X	X						
completion	X	X											
confinement								X	X				
increase										X	X		
decrease												X	X
inchoation						X	X						
surface	X	X											
dot, spot								X	X				
acci. happ							X						
asunder,										X	X		
contact												X	X
totalization	X	X											

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Samoan Directionals

mai	'towards the point where the speaker is'
atu	'away from a particular position where the speaker is and in the direction of the person addressed'
ifo	'down'; 'to bow, to control, to restrain, to give in, to surrender'
a'e	'up'; 'to go up or to climb'

In languages such as Kusaiean, the DR's are never used as independent verbs but can have verb-like meanings in certain contexts.

The aspectual meanings seem to be a secondary extension of the directional meanings. With regard to this extension, we can observe at least three different stages of development. In languages such as Kusaiean, Ponapean and Mokilese, the DR's have aspectual meanings besides directional meanings. However, in languages such as Trukese, Tongan and Samoan, only one or two DR's can have aspectual meanings. The Trukese DR na 'away' denotes a change of state when it is used with adjectives. Its DR tå denotes that something has come into one's consciousness when it is used with verbs such as 'to hear' or 'to remember'. The Tongan DR hake 'up' can denote a state of completion. Its DR hifo 'down' can denote a state of quietness, stillness or inactivity.

FOOTNOTES

1. Preliminary version of a paper to be presented at the First International Conference on Comparative Austronesian Linguistics, Honolulu, January 2-7, 1974. The present paper is an expanded and revised version of a section of my Kusaiean Reference Grammar. I wish to express my sincere gratitude to Professor Donald M. Topping who provided me with useful suggestions and comments while he was going over the first draft of the reference grammar, and also to Professor Byron W. Bender who helped me to make this paper much more readable. My thanks also go to Professors Andrew Pawley and Roderick A. Jacobs who provided me with references and encouragement. My special thanks are due to my Kusaiean language teachers, Mr. Elmer Ascher and Mr. Lyndon Cornelius.

2. Despite my original intention, I was not able to include Mokilese in this paper because no Mokilese informant was available.

3. The eight directional suffixes have the following alternating forms which are listed in the second column.

lah	lac	'away'
acng	yang	'to'
ack	yak	'up'
yah	i	'down'
ma	me	'to the speaker'
oht	wot	'to the listener'
aclihk	elihk	'to different directions'
acni	eni	'to one direction'

The forms listed in the first column appear in the following environments:

1. After transitive verbs, the forms listed in the first column are used. They affect the vowel height of the preceding verbs. When the vowel is high, it is lowered to a mid vowel. When the vowel is mid, it is lowered to a lower-mid vowel. Consider the following:

Simple Forms	Suffixed Forms	Glosses
kulus	kolos-lah	'to peel'
kihnis	kuhnes-lah	'to pick'
long	long-lah [lɔ:nlæ:]	'to step on'
twem	twem-lah [t'ɛ:mlæ:]	'to sharpen'

2. After the third person object pronoun suffix, the forms listed in the first column are used.

Simple Forms	Suffixed Forms	Glosses
futung	fotong-uhl-lah	'to kick'
puok	puok-uhl-yah	'to hit'

3. After intransitive verbs or adjectives whose last vowels are lower-mid or low.

Simple Forms	Suffixed Forms	Glosses
fohk	fohk-lah	'to defecate'
tahtah	tahtah-lah	'to saw'
sroalsroal	sroalsroal-lah	'to be darkened'

The forms listed in the second column are used in the following environments:

1. After the second or first person object pronoun suffixes.

Simple Forms	Suffixed Forms	Glosses
puok	puok-yuh-yak	'to hit me'
sruok	sruok-kom-i	'to hold you'

2. After the passive suffix -yuhk;

Simple Forms	Suffixed Forms	Glosses
futung	futung-yuhk-lac	'to be kicked'
kulus	kulus-yuhk-yak	'to be peeled'
twem	twem-yuhk-lac	'to be sharpened'

3. After intransitive verbs or adjectives whose last vowels are high;

Simple Forms	Suffixed Forms	Glosses
kih	kih-lac	'bent'
srisri	srisri-lac	'skinny'
mihs	mihs-lac	'calm'
lihsr	lihsr-lac	'none'

In this paper, the forms listed in the first column will be used.

4. The restriction does not hold in declarative sentences whose tense is [+future].

5. Although each DR carries quite a few different aspectual meanings, a common semantic thread can be seen to run through the different meanings The DR lah in the following sentences denotes different results. However, the results seem to be threaded by a common meaning.

Sohn el kote-lah lah se.
John he chop- branch a 'John chopped off a branch.'
Soh el kune-lah e sac.
John he put fire the 'John put out a fire.'
Sohn el muhlkuhn-lah inen mwet sac.
John he forget- name of man the 'John forgot the man's name.'

6. The Ponapean data presented here were collected by the writer himself over the past three years sporadically one sentence at a time. The date were checked by Marcelino K. Actouka. My special thanks are extended to him.

7. The meanings and functions of the directional suffixes that we observed in the preceding two parts are not peculiar to Kusaiean and Ponapean. A great deal of similarity can be found in the meanings and functions of the verb particles in English such as up, down, away, off, or out. Basically the particles denote direction but they can have metaphorically extended meanings. In the first sentence below, the verb particle up denotes direction but in the second sentence below, it denotes completion.

John pushed up the window.
John burned up the paper.

In Korean , to take another example, motion verbs such as o- 'to come', ka- 'to go', næ- 'to bring out', or pəli- 'to throw away', can have figurative meanings. Compare the following pairs of sentences. In the first sentences, the underlined motion verbs denote motion but in the second sentences they are used figuratively.

ki-nin hakkyo-e ka- ss - ta
he school-to go- past-
'He went to school.'
pang-i sikə- ka- ss- ta.
room cool- go past
'The room was getting cool.'
na-nin ki yənpil-il pəliə- ss- ta
I the pencil throw past
'I threw away the pencil.'
na-nin ki ppang-il məkə- pəliə- ss- ta
I the bread eat throw past
'I ate up the bread.'

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